

**EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT**  
**ROUTING SLIP**

TO:

		ACTION	INFO	DATE	INITIAL
1	DCI				
2	DDCI				
3	EXDIR				
4	D/ICS				
5	DDI				
6	DDA				
7	DDO				
8	DDS&T				
9	Chm/NIC				
10	GC				
11	IG				
12	Compt				
13	D/Pers				
14	D/OLL				
15	D/PAO				
16	SA/IA				
17	AO/DCI				
18	C/IPD/OIS				
19	NI0/LA	X			
20					
21					
22					
	SUSPENSE			Date	

Remarks

25X1

*fr* EXECUTIVE Secretary  
2 Nov 84  
Date

3637 (10-81)



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

October 29, 1984

## MEMORANDUM TO DISTRIBUTION LIST A

FROM: OTTO J. REICH *OK*

SUBJECT: Nicaragua/Costa Rica/Cuba

Executive Registry
84. 9561

Enclosed is a package of materials focusing on the above-mentioned countries. Due to the upcoming elections in Nicaragua (Nov. 4), most of the information deals with that country.

1. A September 1984 New York Times article on alleged kidnappings by Nicaragua's anti-Sandinistas, with accompanying letter-to-the-editor by Professor Bernard Nietschmann of the University of California at Berkeley. Professor Nietschmann, an expert on the Indians of Nicaragua, points out the biases and inaccuracies of the NY Times article.

2. Extracts of two secret Sandinista speeches, published in August and September 1984 by Foreign Report. The two speeches, by junta member Bayardo Arce, were first published in the Barcelona newspaper La Vanguardia. Publication of the speeches proved to be embarrassing for the Sandinistas because of the candidness of some of the statements. For example, Arce characterizes the upcoming Nicaraguan election as a "hindrance" and says further that "We are discussing . . . first, the idea of putting an end to all this artifice of pluralism . . ." In the second speech, Arce calls for ". . . unity of the Marxist-Lenists of Nicaragua . . ." And in some very telling statements, Arce further unmasks Sandinista views when he says, "But democracy, as they call it, bourgeois democracy, contains an element which we can manage and obtain positive elements for the construction of socialism in Nicaragua. He goes on to say, "The Socialist party is a Marxist-Leninist party . . .", and "This is going to be the first experience in the construction of socialism with the dollars of capitalism."

3. "Other Voices From Nicaragua," is an article by Sister Camilla Mullay, taken from the August 31, 1984, edition of The Pilot. In this article, the Sister points out the fact that many religious leaders who strongly opposed Somoza are also strongly opposed to the Sandinistas today and, "They find it disheartening that their new Sandinista oppressors have been winning the propaganda war for North America and Western

DCI  
EXEC  
REG

C387

Europe." Sister Camilla relayed a message from a Nicaraguan Sister which sums up the situation pretty well: "North Americans should not take for granted that the news they get from Nicaragua is true. There's no voice for the religious not Sandinistas."

4. Talking points called "Nicaragua's Sandinistas: A Betrayed Revolution." These talking points include the subjects of security, human rights, elections, and U.S./Nicaraguan relations.

5. "A Precedent for 1984?" briefly explains the way Somoza manipulated the 1974 Nicaraguan election and received 95% of the votes, setting the stage for later upheaval by making it apparent that a democratic end to the Somoza dynasty had become impossible.

6. "Freed Cuban: What Price Peace and Freedom?" is an article by Andres Vargas Gomez, one of the 25 political prisoners released by Castro this summer. Appearing in The Wall Street Journal on July 13, 1984, the article clearly illustrates the sad plight of the many political prisoners of Cuba, regularly subjected to physical torture and commonly executed.

7. Copy of two recent cables, the first contains Costa Rican President Monge's declarations regarding his country's friendly relations with the U.S., and the second contains speech excerpts from the opening ceremony of the recent San Jose conference of Foreign Ministers.

8. Two press clippings of recent trips to Seattle and Cleveland, giving examples of the kinds of questions Administration officials are commonly asked as they speak on Central America in various regions of the country.

I hope these materials will be useful. If you do not have a great interest in or need for materials on Central America, please do not hesitate to request that your name be deleted from our mailing list. The person to contact for that is Joy Cothran, 632-6751.

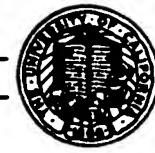
Enclosures:

As stated.

## UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

BERKELEY • DAVIS • IRVINE • LOS ANGELES • RIVERSIDE • SAN DIEGO • SAN FRANCISCO

SANTA BARBARA • SANTA CRUZ



DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY  
 EARTH SCIENCES BUILDING  
 BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720

September 12, 1984

Letters to the Editor  
 The New York Times  
 229 West 43rd Street  
 New York, New York 10036

To the Editor:

When I read the New York Times I want to read The New York Times, not Barricada, the official newspaper of the Sandinistas. Stephen Kinzer's article "Anti-Sandinistas Said to Kidnap 2" (September 10) does little more than to pass on a highly politicized government statement. Kinzer is a seasoned reporter and normally does a good job covering Latin American news. He has interviewed many leaders of the various anti-Sandinista groups so he should know who is who and where their forces operate in Nicaragua.

Kinzer reports the Managua report that two Sandinista officials were kidnapped north of Bluefields September 5 by "United States-backed insurgents" who are "right-wing rebels." Nonsense. This sort of hyphenated intermediary journalism only echos Sandinista symbols when the need is to clear up who is who and why these things are happening.

The Indian force MISURASATA took the two Sandinista officials and they are reported safe. MISURASATA insurgents are Indians and are not "right-wing rebels," nor are they left wing; they are Indians, Indian wing if one must wing it. Nicaraguan Indians have experienced and have rejected both ends of the Western political spectrum. MISURASATA is not a "United States-backed" group. U.S. assistance was very small scale and short term and even that has ceased since May. In fact, the three other insurgent groups--FDN, MISURA and Pastora's FRS (Frente Revolucionario Sandino)--have not received U.S. aid for 4½ months. Without the capacity of resupply, the nature of the insurgent groups' strategy is changing inside Nicaragua; they are by necessity much more self-sufficient, more in the style of classic guerrilla warfare where border area sanctuaries and dependence upon outside supplies are not requisites.

The reported recent kidnappings were done near the lower Río Grande area, in the heart of MISURASATA-controlled Indian territory. Since May local Indian insurgent forces have fought many small-scale battles and ambushes against Sandinista army and militia units which escalated into the government's bombing and forced relocation of Indian communities. In turn, MISURASATA forces attacked non-Indian communities of La Cruz (two times) and Tortuguero. So the two Sandinista officials in Kinzer's article were not just on the campaign trail, they entered a war zone of intense conflict. And one of the officials is a member of Sandinista State Security.

Why is it that news reporting focuses on alleged "contra" kidnappings, while ignoring the several hundred civilian Indians and campesinos who have been taken from their homes by government military and security forces and are listed as "disappeared"? About 70 or 80 Indians have "disappeared" and the government has yet to account for their whereabouts. This is about the same number of kidnapped people as the Sandinistas claim have been kidnapped by the "contras." Where is Franklin Blandford, age 27, "kidnapped" by Sandinista Security last October from the same area where the two Sandinistas were reported to have been kidnapped last week? And why haven't any Sandinista military officials been charged with the killings of seven innocent Indian civilians at Walpasiksa, September 13, 1982? (Eloterio Martínez, Sampson Martínez, Gonzalito Martínez, Arnulfo Matama, Alejandro González, Cárdenas Leban, Farley Taylor.) Thirty-seven Indians arrested at the same time of these witnessed killings were later released by a government judge for lack of evidence to support the charge that they were "counterrevolutionaries."

If Kinzer and other reporters want to understand what's going on inside Nicaragua they will have to do better than only to search for outside reasons and Managua-supplied explanations. Government attacks against Indian communities and the killing and kidnapping of Indian civilians have increased the size of Indian insurgent forces and provoked responses in kind. Kinzer's story has the Managua refrain that only the "contras" kill civilians. But in this story there are three "wings" and three sides.

Sincerely,

Professor

STAT  
BN:nv

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, SEPT.

# ANTI-SANDINISTAS SAID TO KIDNAP 2

**Managua Says Rightist Rebels  
Have Abducted 80 Others  
Since Beginning of July**

By STEPHEN KINZER

Special to The New York Times

BLUEFIELDS, Nicaragua, Sept. 9.— Two local Sandinista leaders were apparently kidnapped by Nicaraguan rebels last week, and Government officials here said today that they feared both had been killed.

The reported abductions brought to 82 the number of people believed carried off by United States-backed insurgents since the beginning of July, the officials said. They asserted that people involved in Sandinista organizations were being targeted in an effort to discourage residents from cooperating with the Government.

One of the two Sandinista leaders reported kidnapped, Ray Hooker, is a former university dean educated in the United States. He had been chosen as a Sandinista candidate for the new National Assembly that is to be elected in November, and was traveling from this Atlantic coast city to the Indian village of Karawala, about 70 miles north of here, to promote his candidacy.

The other victim, Patricia Delgado, is a member of the regional Sandinista governing committee and was traveling with Mr. Hooker to the village.

The captain of the small launch in which they were traveling, Santiago Mayorga, was also missing in the incident, which occurred Wednesday. The Nicaraguan Defense Ministry was quoted as saying Friday that the three had been abducted by 80 insurgents.

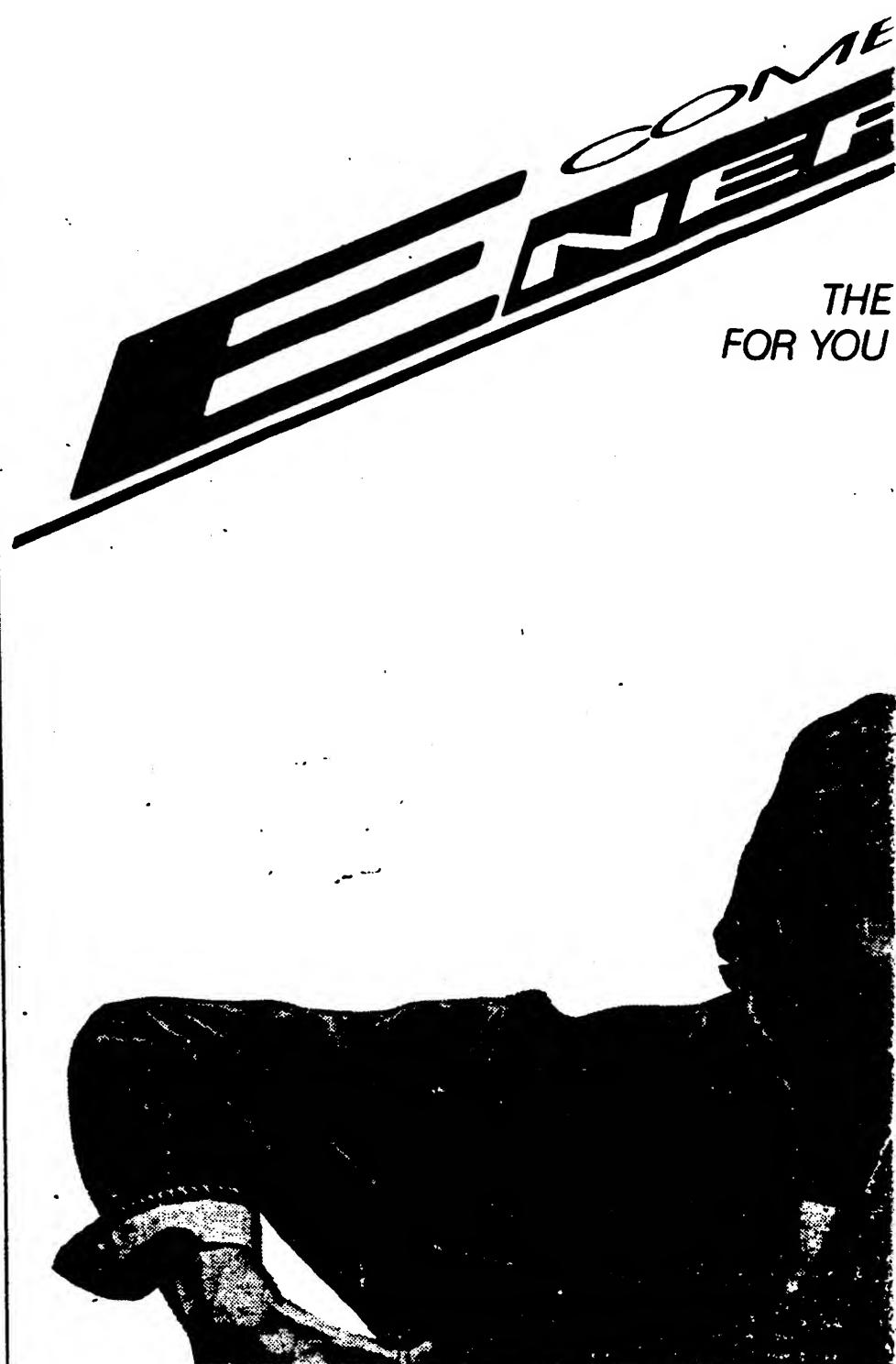
#### 4 Bodies Have Been Found

Of the 82 Nicaraguans reported kidnapped by right-wing rebels since July, the bodies of 4 were found in the Escondido River last month, but the fate of the other 78 victims is unknown. Some are believed to have been taken to rebel camps in Costa Rica or Honduras.

Sandinista officers believe that nearly 1,000 rebels, known as contras, are scattered throughout southeastern Nicaragua, a sparsely populated expanse of swamps, jungles and tropical rain forests. Over the last 10 days, they have mounted a series of attacks.

On Aug. 30, a raiding party captured and burned a barge used to haul food and other goods to Bluefields from the western part of the country. Three crewmen aboard the barge were carried off, and there has been no word of their fate.

There is no road to connect Bluefields with the rest of Nicaragua, so the



loss of the barge has made it difficult for residents to obtain goods. The Government is, however, constructing a new airport here.

#### Attack by 200 Rebels

On Wednesday, a force estimated at more than 200 rebels attacked the town of La Cruz del Rio Grande, killing 4 people and suffering 14 dead, according to Government figures.

Two days later, the head of an agricultural cooperative in Cahonero, less than 10 miles from Bluefields, was killed in an ambush along with two members of the cooperative. The head of the cooperative, Jacinto Vargas Estrada, had urged his neighbors to work with Sandinista officials.

"The contras are trying to do two things," said Harry Chávez, a local Sandinista spokesman. "They want to terrorize people so they will not work with the revolutionary Government, and at the same time they are laying the groundwork for an effort to seize some territory. Taking Bluefields would be their greatest triumph."

In recent months, insurgents have mounted several attacks in which they have made special efforts to single out and kill leaders of pro-Sandinista organizations. Coordinators of Sandinista block committees, youth groups, health centers and cooperatives have been among the victims.

Mr. Hooker, who maintained relations with Indians opposed to the Government, is among the most widely respected citizens of Bluefields. He graduated from Ohio University with a degree in history, became assistant dean of humanities at the National University in Managua, and in 1981 was named director of the Institute for the Atlantic Coast, a Government agency. More recently, he had been in charge of administering social services for indigenous groups in the coast region.

The official Sandinista newspaper Barricada charged Saturday that Mr. Hooker's kidnapping was planned by the Central Intelligence Agency, which has provided millions of dollars in covert aid to rebel groups.

#### Report of Cuban Deaths Denied

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 9 — The Nicaraguan Mission to the United Nations has dismissed a Reagan Administration assertion that four senior Cuban military advisers were killed in a rebel air raid last Saturday in which two Americans were killed.

The statement, issued Saturday night by the Nicaraguan Embassy here, accused Administration officials of "lying," and reiterated earlier Nicaraguan assertions that the only people killed in the attack against a military school in Santa Clara were three children and a cook.

The statement said the Administration's portrayal of the situation in Central America was based on an "insidious and systematic use of deceit."

"No amount of lying will help the Reagan Administration to prevent the people of the United States and the international community from clearly seeing the reality of the aggression of a big power against a small nation," it said.

The Administration has denied any

ear  
E

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

—  
—  
—

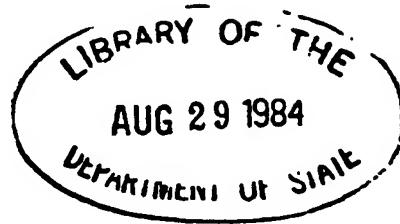
—  
—<br

# Foreign Report

Published by The Economist  
25 St James's Street, London SW1A 1HG  
1837 August 23, 1984

## Contents

*Soviet eyes on Pakistan*  
*Inside Afghanistan*  
*The odd couple*  
**A secret Sandinist speech**  
*Sri Lanka and Israel*  
*B-1 against Stealth*  
*America's non-firing missiles*  
*Pointers*



## A secret Sandinist speech

The Sandinist government in Nicaragua has been seriously embarrassed by the publication in the Barcelona newspaper *La Vanguardia* of a secret speech by one of Nicaragua's nine *comandantes*, Bayardo Arce, to the central committee of the small Nicaraguan Socialist party (PSN)—a pro-Soviet Communist group—in Managua at the end of June. The co-ordinator of the Sandinist Junta, Daniel Ortega, has admitted the authenticity of the speech, which was discreetly tape-recorded.

Arce's speech is reminiscent of some aspects of the secret speech of Maurice Bishop about the goals of the revolution in Grenada (FOREIGN REPORT May 17th). Arce told the PSN representatives that the objective of Nicaragua's revolution was to establish a one-party state on orthodox Marxist-Leninist lines; he stressed the need for unity between the Sandinists and the PSN; and he suggested that the result of the presidential election on November 4th was entirely predictable. Arce said:

We believe that the election must be used to secure a vote for Sandinism, which is being questioned and stigmatised by imperialism, in order to demonstrate that the Nicaraguan people . . . are for Marxism-Leninism. They will not overturn this vote by force, as they did in Chile.

If it were not for the state of war forced on us . . . the electoral problem would be something completely out of step in terms of usefulness. What the revolution truly needs is the power to take action. And this power to take action is what constitutes the

essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat . . . So the election is, from this point of view, a hindrance, like a number of other things . . . But, from a realistic point of view, these things are weapons of the revolution in forwarding the building of socialism. So it is useful for us, for example, to point to an entrepreneurial class and private production in a mixed economy, while we get on with the strategic aspects . . . The important areas (of the economy) are under state control.

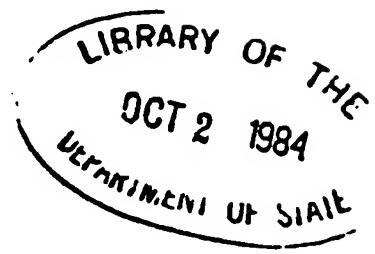
We are discussing . . . first, the idea of putting an end to all this artifice of pluralism, that there is a Socialist and Communist party, a Christian Socialist and a Social Democrat party etc, which has been useful to us up to now. Now that has come to an end.

Let the people vote for all the things the revolution has done. Let them vote for literacy, adult education, confiscation, nationalisation of the banks and foreign trade, free education; let them vote for Soviet-Cuban advisers, for revolutionary internationalism. Let them vote for all that.

The important thing for us about the election is the working out of the new constitution . . . which will enable us to form the judicial and political principles for the construction of socialism. We are using an instrument, demanded by the bourgeoisie, which disarms the international bourgeoisie, in order to form our own strategic objectives.

# Foreign Report

Published by The Economist  
 25 St James's Street, London SW1A 1HG  
 1838 September 6, 1984



## Contents

- Communism in the Seychelles*
- A secret Sandinist speech (2)*
- An Afghan overview*
- Inside Estonia*
- Dead wood at the UN*
- Pointers*

## A secret Sandinist speech (2)

In our last issue (FOREIGN REPORT, August 23rd), we published extracts of a secret speech by a member of the Sandinist junta, **Bayardo Arce**, explaining the Sandinist strategy for Nicaragua. Arce is coordinator of the political commission of the Sandinist Front. He asked the allied Socialist party, a Marxist-Leninist group, to unite with the Sandinists after the election in November. Here are some more tape-recorded extracts of Arce's speech:

Imperialism asks us three things: that we abandon interventionism; that we abandon our strategic ties with the Soviet Union and the socialist community; and that we should be democratic. We cannot stop being internationalists without stopping being revolutionary. We cannot stop our strategic relations. This does not enter into any consideration ...

But democracy, as they call it, bourgeois democracy, contains an element which we can manage and obtain positive elements for the construction of socialism in Nicaragua ... The most important ... is the elaboration of a new constitution because ... (it) will allow us to shape juridical and political principles for the construction of socialism ... This new juridical framework will let us adopt a new rhythm, more dynamic. That is the project which we will obtain from the electoral process.

So in this context, in which the elections will let us be more clear in a series of things, we ask what role will our allied forces play? - The Socialist party is a Marxist-Leninist party ... We have not declared ourselves in a public and official way as Marxist-Leninists ... We say: Do we have strategic differences with the Socialist party, or does the Socialist party have differences with us? Isn't it time to make a single party? Why are we communists putting on different shirts?

We ourselves have started to discuss this, but we invite you to discuss it too. Because, if we wish, well, after the elections, we are going to drop the fiction that there is a Socialist party which is Marxist-Leninist and there are those of the Sandinist Front, who still have not taken off their shirt. This problem of identity in the electoral process is absolutely secondary ... We are trying to avoid changing faces too much, avoiding confusions: we don't talk about the aspect in depth ...

This is going to be the first experience in the construction of socialism with the dollars of capitalism.

We still have not started to move the crowds (*turbas*)—because the moment has not yet arrived. We are concentrating our efforts on military matters ...

We must take advantage of this change, which the electoral press represents, to draw positive profits: the unity of the Marxist-Leninists of Nicaragua. Thank you.

# Other Voices From Nicaragua

By Camille Mulley, O.P.

**WHOM TO BELIEVE?** Whom to trust? Whom to learn from? these questions about Nicaragua nagged at me. How could I know? The Reagan Administration presented one picture. Speakers under church auspices and most of the literature that came across my desk gave a totally different view.

Members of the Congress were divided as were policy analysts. Media coverage was uneven at best. Meanwhile, a steady stream of witness statements — personal accounts by North American visitors, mainly church people — formed a torrent of pro-Sandinista, anti-Administration sentiment.

The first personal account I had heard of a guided visit to Nicaragua was from the major superior of a religious congregation I know. She returned, enthusiastic about the course of the revolution and convinced that the only problem is the U.S. policy of assisting those fighting against the Sandinista regime. The tour sounded highly programmed and propagandized to me. It had been arranged under the auspices of the Sandinista International Department.

But for my friend, the trip had been a deep personal experience of the living Christianity of the revolution; and she felt so strongly about it that she held three press conferences the day after her return. By the time I had heard or read a half dozen other such experiences, however, I knew the "play" and could anticipate the lines.

**I WAS INTRIGUED.** What was really happening in Nicaragua? I began searching out information from other points of view. One source was Nicaraguan exiles who fled their country when the revolutionary process either jeopardized their personal safety or demanded what their consciences could not assent to — or both. These people did not seem to be talking about the same place as the North American visitors.

When I was invited to be a private-citizen observer of the May 6 elections in El Salvador, I took the opportunity to go to Nicaragua. My purpose was to procure recent publications on the Church and the revolution and try to talk with women religious who are not part of the tours and who do not write press releases or speak to a North American public. There are sisters in Nicaragua who are willing to talk freely and are grateful to be able to express their concerns to someone they trust, someone who will listen without making their lives more difficult.

The first missionary sister I met in Nicaragua noted that I was not on a Sandinista tour. With a sense of humor, she recited the places I would have been seeing if on a tour. Yes, the list was familiar by now. A priest she knows from the States

how she could tell him before he told her what places his group would visit next on their tour.

This Sister understood well, however, the purpose of the tours — to present the achievements of the government in the most favorable light and the United States government in the worst possible light by exposing the visitors to persons primed ahead of time in places that convey the desired image.

A couple of years ago as opposition to the Sandinista government intensified and the *contras* gained more support, missionary Sisters from Nicaragua came up to the United States to speak for the regime, urging economic assistance to the government and an end to United States funding for covert activities there. Their basic theme was that the revolutionary government is committed to structural justice, the option for the poor, and genuine self-determination and has provided a climate for Christianity to flourish.

Stopping short of saying that the government is Christian, one Sister admitted, "I don't have that deep an understanding of Marxism." Then she added, "I think that because of the Church's participation in revolution, the Marxists must reconsider the whole role of Christianity in the revolution also."

Indeed, we know that the role of the Church, if not of Christianity, has been and still is a serious political consideration for the government. At the heart of the struggle going on between the PSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front) Party/government and the Nicaraguan bishops is a clash of views on what the role of the Church should be. The bishops — un-coopted and willing to speak out the truth as they see it — represent the only independent organization left with enough life and strength to be a serious challenge to the PSLN.

**THE DEFEAT OF SOMOZA** in 1979 brought the overwhelming task to rebuild the country — to feed the hungry, shelter the homeless, bind up wounds, teach the illiterate, inoculate against the deaths of children . . . A Sister I had known before she went to Nicaragua wrote that she and her community made the decision to work to support the revolutionary government; evangelization would come later. Other dedicated religious made the same decision, and many saw no need to make a distinction between the one and the other. The government leaders expected and still expect that Christians be "revolutionary." Those Sisters who try to be "non-political," are considered "counterrevolutionary," as are those who support their bishops' call for national reconciliation.

None of the persons I talked with who were critical of the government of Nicaragua wish a return to somocismo — a Somoza-type rule. Nor do they seem to be looking for special privileges for themselves. The truth is they do not want to be "used" by anyone, neither

This is the last in a series of background articles commissioned by The Pilot which examined the crisis in Nicaragua and its effect on the Church in that Central American nation. —Ed.

powers, and certainly not the Sandinistas. They want a Nicaraguan solution to their problems, and they want to see the promises of the revolution kept. They find it disheartening that their new Sandinista oppressors have been winning the propaganda war for North America and Western Europe.

One soft-spoken Nicaraguan Sister gave me this message in being back: "North Americans should not take for granted that the news they get from Nicaragua is true. There's no voice for the religious not Sandinistas." There was a sadness in her voice as she emphasized: "North American religious come down here and see just one side." Elsewhere, a longtime missionary in Nicaragua told me the poor people with whom she works ask her how it is that the North American religious are so fooled!

**ONE REASON** is that we receive a lot of misinformation or inadequate information. A recent experience of mine illustrates this point. During an inter-community retreat on Long Island, the subject of Nicaragua came up one day at lunch. When I mentioned that I had been there last May, a religious, whom I will call Sister Mary, began saying what she presumed I thought about the situation. The Sister was quoting what she had heard from the peace-and-justice office of her congregation, which, in turn, had received it from a larger inter-community office. It was a real surprise to her to learn that I had a different viewpoint.

Pursuing the topic, I outlined the stereotype of the Nicaraguan bishops, especially Archbishop Obando: bourgeoisie, reactionary, "Old Church," allied with the wealthy, cozy with Somoza, uncaring for the poor . . . . Somewhat taken aback, my companion admitted that the description accurately fit her impression of the bishops there. Eager to know and well-intentioned, this Sister had never heard that Archbishop Obando comes from a poor family, is actually popular "With The Poor," had opposed Somoza and served as a rallying point for winning over moderate elements to the revolution, understands democracy and admires it, has been a target of Sandinista abuse and rudeness on the part of some of the North American visitors he was gracious enough to receive in openness.

Somoza's memoirs express contempt for the bishops because he could not manipulate them. He was especially bitter toward Obando, whom he accused of being one of the "terrorists" (guerrillas), calling him *El Comandante*. Sister Mary was grateful to hear this new

Now that the Nicaraguan bishops' Easter pastoral on reconciliation is available, I hope Sister Mary and others will read the text. (It's barely three pages.) So many, like them, have trustingly relied on the information dispatched by certain religious or quasi-religious centers that deal with Nicaragua and other global concerns involving United States foreign policy.

This Easter pastoral, to which the Sandinista leaders reacted violently, was printed in *Origins*, July 26, 1984 — three months after it was read at the Easter Masses in Nicaragua. A widely-read Catholic paper printed on May 11 a one-sentence news item that this pastoral had been issued, then a month later, an 800-word article on the critique of it by the delegate of the Jesuits in Nicaragua with his consultors. For those who read the *Congressional Record*, Senator Edward Kennedy had the full text of the pastoral placed in the May 22 issue. At that time, the Senator stated forthrightly:

When it comes to dealing with their critics in the Catholic Church in Nicaragua, the Sandinistas are flunking the test . . . the bishops . . . called for national healing, reconciliation, and dialogue among the people of Nicaragua. The Sandinistas' response . . . called the bishops' pastoral message criminal and accused the bishops of being instruments of the counterrevolutionaries. This is not the language of tolerance or religious freedom.

Does the organization that supplies you with materials on Nicaragua provide you with the information you request? Or does it respond as did the director of the Central American Historical Institute at Georgetown to a request for Archbishop Obando's famous Easter homily of 1983, which was critical of the Sandinistas? Saying she did not usually deal with Church matters, the director further remarked that it wasn't worth a Telex to the Central American Historical Institute in Managua to request the homily. (Scott Walter, "Nicaragua's Cheerleaders," *Catholicism in Crisis*, January 1984.)

AS WE TRY TO FIND OUT the truth, as best we can, let us remember how difficult it is for the Nicaraguan bishops to have their word heard by us who need to hear it. Perhaps we should insist on hearing what they have said and not simply rely on the widely reported reactions to their words.

---

Sister Camilla Malley, O.P., has just completed a two-year sabbatical in Washington, D.C., at the Catholic University after having served for eight years as Mother General of the Dominican Congregation of St. Mary of the Springs, Columbus, Ohio. She has a Ph.D. in history with a minor in politics and will be teaching at Ohio Dominican College, Columbus.

## Nicaragua's Sandinistas: A Betrayed Revolution

### Background

- The vast majority of Nicaraguans, including labor, students, academics, business, and farmers, collaborated in the overthrow of Somoza; support for the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) was indeed high in July 1979.
- In 1979 and 1980, the U.S. attempted to build constructive relations with the Sandinista government by providing economic assistance and diplomatic support to the Nicaraguan government.
- The U.S. supplied Nicaragua with approximately \$118 million of economic assistance between July 1979 and April 1981.
- Peace Corps assistance for Nicaragua was offered; however, the Government of National Reconstruction (GRN) refused it.
- In the 18 months after it came to power, the Sandinista leadership expanded ties with Cuba and the Soviet Union, to support foreign guerrilla groups in neighboring countries, and to build up their military to levels unprecedented in the Central American region.
- Even as recently as June of 1982, the U.S. government offered a \$5.1 million economic assistance grant to Nicaragua's private sector. In August 1982, however, the Sandinista regime refused to allow further disbursements of the grant, thus preventing much needed foreign exchange from reaching the private sector.

### Security

- Nicaragua maintains the largest contingent of foreign military advisers in the area: between 2,500 and 3,500 Cuban military and security advisers; at least 100 Soviet and other east bloc military advisers; and about 50 advisers from Libya and the PLO.
- There are also 4,500 to 6,500 Cuban civilian advisers, an increasing number of whom are young males who have completed military training.
- Nicaragua continues to increase its army and its stores of weapons. It now has over 100,000 persons under arms, including the regular army, reserves, and militia.
- Nicaragua continues to receive weapons from the Soviet bloc, augmenting its already formidable arsenal of tanks, heavy artillery, armored personnel carriers, and multiple rocket launchers.

- Significantly, Nicaragua maintains several battalions of medium battle tanks which give it an offensive capability.
- The Sandinistas continue to assist guerrillas in other countries, primarily the FMLN/FDR in El Salvador, through shipments of arms and supplies, training, and provision of command-and-control centers in Nicaragua.
- On May 8, an unarmed Honduran helicopter was shot down over Nicaraguan territory by Sandinista forces. The Government of National Reconstruction then decorated the Sandinista unit commander who shot down the helicopter.

#### Human Rights

- The Sandinistas' drive to dominate Nicaraguan political life has led to a pattern of repeated violations of human rights. These include their brutal treatment of the Miskito Indians, attacks on religious groups, prior censorship of the press, and widely criticized "special tribunals."
- A State of Emergency continues, allowing the government to maintain prior censorship and to suspend the rights to free assembly and habeas corpus.
- "People's Tribunals" have been established. Some people have been sentenced by the tribunals to as long as 30 years in prison.
- In late 1981 and early 1982, the Sandinistas forcibly relocated approximately 10,000 Miskito Indians from their homelands to distant resettlement camps.
- In late December 1983, more than 1,000 Miskito Indians fled Nicaragua for Honduras; they were accompanied by two U.S. bishops, one of whom the Sandinistas had already announced had been killed by Miskito guerrillas. The two bishops escorted the Indians under their own free will.
- Interviewed later, some of those who fled said that Sandinista troops had tortured Miskitos, reduced their food rations, and had jailed persons arbitrarily.
- Heavy Government of National Reconstruction censorship led La Prensa, the only independent newspaper in Nicaragua, not to publish on at least 11 occasions so far in 1984.
- Some censored articles in 1984 concerned Government of National Reconstruction attempts to challenge the right of the Catholic Church hierarchy to select teachers for Catholic schools. On April 23, the Government of National Reconstruction censored the Catholic Church's pastoral letter issued on Easter Sunday (April 22).

-3-

- The Government of National Reconstruction has made much of its amnesty for Miskitos, but the truth is that since it was offered, more than a thousand Miskitos have left Nicaragua, and only a handful have returned. At least 16,000 Miskitos have fled Nicaragua since 1981.
- The exodus continues. In April 1984 some 600 Miskitos fled to refuge in Honduras.
- The existence of political prisoners, arbitrary arrest and disappearances have been documented by Nicaragua's independent Permanent Commission for Human Rights.
- On July 10 the Sandinista regime expelled 10 foreign Catholic priests following a demonstration led by Managua Archbishop Obando y Bravo in support of Rev. Luis Amado Pena. Pena is presently being confined in a seminary by Nicaraguan authorities. There are press reports that the Sandinistas may try Pena before "special tribunals" for alleged "counterrevolutionary activities."

#### Elections

- The Sandinistas promised the Nicaraguan people and the OAS to hold free elections and to support pluralism, nonalignment, and a mixed economy.
- Once in power, the Sandinistas postponed elections and only recently have taken measures to hold elections in November 1984.
- Sandinista spokesmen have said that Nicaragua will not have "bourgeois elections," and that elections will only "confirm the Sandinista Revolution," raising doubts about the Sandinistas commitment to genuinely free elections.
- The Government of National Reconstruction has lowered the minimum voting age for the upcoming November elections to 16 years, thus incorporating youths enfranchising by the Sandinista youth organizations.
- The Sandinistas still have outstanding issues for elections:
  - (1) The State of Emergency, which has given the Government of National Reconstruction arbitrary power over key facets of society.
  - (2) Equal access to media by the political parties during the electoral campaign and the abolition of prior censorship.
  - (3) Ability to participate and to organize political activities freely.

- (4) Extent that opponents will be able to criticize government policies and not face harrassment.
- (5) The kind of international observers there may be, and their scope of activities.
- (6) The exclusion of armed opposition leaders from any participation in political life, including elections.
- It is important that elections allow full, equal and unhindered participation and not be just a facade for continued control by one group.
- When the ruling political party controls the army, the police, the media, the courts, and various aspects of daily life through neighborhood organizations, fair elections can hardly be assured.

U.S. - Nicaraguan Relations

The U.S. has four objectives in its policy toward Nicaragua:

- (1) An end to Nicaraguan support for guerrilla groups in neighboring countries;
- (2) Severance of Nicaraguan military and security ties to Cuba and the Soviet bloc;
- (3) Reduction of Nicaragua's military strength to levels that would restore military equilibrium in the area; and
- (4) Fulfillment of original Sandinista promises to support democratic pluralism and respect human and civil rights.
- These concerns could be met without any change of government in Managua. The Sandinistas are aware of U.S. concerns and those of their neighbors.
- These objectives are also reflected in the 21 principles adopted last September by the participants, including Nicaragua, in the Contadora process.
- The U.S. has made its position clear, in its frequent direct contacts with the Nicaraguan government, the most recent of which were Secretary Sultz's June 1 visit to Managua and Ambassador Shlaudeman's June 25-27 talks with Nicaraguan Vice-Foreign Minister Tinoco. The Sandinistas know that the U.S. would be responsive to positive steps the Sandinista regime might take.

July 1984

## A PRECEDENT FOR 1984?

In 1972-74, Anastasio Somoza stepped aside from the presidency of Nicaragua, continuing as commander of the National Guard and, after the 1972 earthquake, as President of the National Emergency Committee.

In 1974, disregarding the advice of friends who thought the time had come for the family to withdraw from active politics, Somoza decided to become President again. To do so, he had the Constitution amended and barred nine out of ten opposition parties from the presidential election. Nicaragua's Roman Catholic Bishops warned in a pastoral letter that these electoral manipulations amounted to "legal war".

Under those conditions, Somoza received a smashing 95 per cent of the votes: 218,156 votes to 11,997 for Edmundo Paguega Irias of the Conservative Party. But the victory was pyrrhic. Many Nicaraguans, including former close associates of Somoza, became convinced a democratic end to the Somoza dynasty had become impossible.

# Latin America

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, FRIDAY, JULY 13, 1984

## Freed Cuban: What Price Peace and Freedom?

When Fidel Castro released me and 24 other political prisoners—using the Rev. Jesse Jackson as a front to take credit for this “humanitarian gesture”—some people may have gotten the impression that this was the act of a regime with a sincere concern for peace and human rights. Although we understand Mr. Jackson’s happiness at having brought to the U.S. a group of political prisoners, those political prisoners were a silent testimony to the brutalities of a system that must not be legitimized. Perhaps it is possible to under-

At La Cabana we could not see the executions, though we could hear the orders to fire and the screams of the victims every night. At the Isle of Pine, where 300 men permanently lived in one compound with two toilets and one shower, prisoners were killed in front of our eyes.

Recently Castro has switched from focusing on physical torture to psychological torture. Most prisoners agree the psychological torture is worse. For more than six years, political prisoners have been held completely incommunicado. They are not allowed to receive letters or visits from their parents, wives or children. They are locked up the whole day in their tiny cells—less than 5 feet by 10 feet for two men. They can walk through the halls of their area only during the brief moments in which dinner and breakfast are served. They never have the opportunity of enjoying a little bit of sun in the open air of the prison yard. They have no access to books, magazines, radio or television.

Even inside the prisons, the rule of non-communication is applied with extreme rigor. Nobody is permitted to talk to the political prisoners unless authorized by penal authorities. If a common prisoner—one who serves us meals or lives in nearby cells—dares to talk to a political prisoner, he will suffer severe punishment for 21 days and, additionally, will lose his right to receive visitors for many weeks.

Medical care for political prisoners is pathetic. Despite the fact that most political prisoners suffer from various illnesses that require steady treatment, the medicines these prisoners need are frequently suspended without reason. General medical care (dental, etc.) is very limited, and specialized medical care is non-existent. For example, many times prisoners got sick from eating the only meat we received—outdated, Russian canned meat. But medical care or treatment is usually not provided for such ailments.

We must think about these outrages, which never cease but only increase, each

time Castro wishes to use political prisoners as a form of merchandise to buy respectability. “Black-market operations” that might further Castro’s aim of making political prisoners a line of business for his government only sacrifice the dignity and principles of the men who are released. To see Castro as operating from a moral perspective, even if we do it with a humanitarian motivation, is not only a political mistake but a great moral offense, as I said when we arrived at the Washington airport.

Castro’s immoral maneuvers certainly do not have the sincere purpose of solving human rights problems in Cuba or looking for peace in Central America. We have to be very clear about that. We all want peace. But we don’t want a peace that has the implication of letting all the tyrants of the world flourish. We don’t want a peace that would allow the people of other countries to suffer horribly. Fidel Castro is not looking for peace. He is looking to establish tyranny and oppression around the world because he is a Communist, and a Communist will never truly desire peace from free nations, even though he may talk about peace.

If we are sincere about our desire to liberate political prisoners under Castro’s heavy hand, it will not be carried out by Castro’s invitation to participate in a moral offensive. Through a serious mobilization of the world’s public opinion against Castro’s government, combined with hard economic and financial sanctions, it may be possible to paralyze the inhumane actions of this Communist regime. Only then could there be a possibility of liberating the rest of the political prisoners in Cuba.

*Mr. Vargas Gomez was in Cuban prisons for 20 years and seven months, and was under house arrest for one year and six months until his release two weeks ago.*

stand the spirit of Castro’s government by analyzing the conditions in which we Cuban political prisoners live within the jails and prisons of Communist Cuba.

All of those released—without exception—had served their sentences several years before. Instead of being released at the completion of their sentences, according to the most basic principles of penal law, they were arbitrarily retained in prison without any legal procedure or possibility of going before a tribunal to express their views.

Despite the 25 years that have elapsed since Castro took power, more than a thousand of the political prisoners sentenced to long jail terms remain confined in a cruel penal system. These are people who might have said something once against Castro’s regime, in those far away days when he was just crystallizing his betrayal of democratic ideals.

In the 1960s and 1970s, we political prisoners were subject to physical torture. At the La Cabana prison and also one on the Isle of Pine, I and my fellow prisoners were usually beaten twice daily during inspections. Executions were quite common.

INCOMING  
TELEGRAM

40

## Department of State

PAGE 31 OF 32 CAN 10 37654 08 OF 32 J200072  
ACTION ARA-08

3578

INFO OCT-88	COPY-01	ADS-08	AID-08	INR-10	SS-08	CIA-08
EB-08	DOB-08	H-08	NSC-08	NSAE-08	SSD-08	RA-08
L-08	TRSE-08	PR-10	PA-02	ORB-01	INRE-08	SP-02
SIN-08	PRS-01	JLPO-01 349 W				

-----101056 023308Z /60 62

S 012255Z OCT 88

FM AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1353

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7353

AMEMBASSY BOGOTA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY HABANA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE

USCINCSO QUARRY MTS PR IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SAN JOSE 37654

FOR AR/MEADE P/RM P/PPE, VOA/BR

SECSTATE FOR ARA/CEN

POSTS FOR PAG

E.O. 12356: R/A

TAGS: SCUR, CS

SUBJECT PRESS: MONGE DECLARATIONS ON COSTA RICA'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.

1. ELECTRONIC MEDIA FOR 9/30/88 AND PRINCIPAL MORNINGER "LA NACION" FOR 10/1/88 FEATURE PROMINENT COVERAGE OF THE 9/30/88 SIGNING OF AN ACCORD BETWEEN COSTA RICA AND AID FOR AN ADDITIONAL 68 MILLION DOLLARS IN SUPPORT FOR FINANCIAL STABILIZATION IN THIS COUNTRY. AID TOTAL IN THIS CATEGORY TOTALS 150 MILLION DOLLARS IN FY 88, A FACT DULY NOTED IN PRESS REPORTS. PRESIDENT LUIS ALBERTO MONGE'S DECLARATIONS TO THE PRESS AFTER THE SIGNING WERE EXTREMELY FRIENDLY TO THE U.S. AND SPECIFICALLY REBUT CHARGES OF U.S. PRESSURE EXERTED AGAINST COSTA RICA. SPANISH TEXT AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION FOLLOW.

2. SEGUN TEXTO: "VARIAS VECES EN LOS DOS AÑOS Y ÚNOS MESES DE GOBIERNO HE TOMADO LA PALABRA EN ACTOS COMO ESTE PARA AGRADECER LA COOPERACION FRANCA Y DECIDA QUE NOS HA ESTADO OFRECIENDO EL GOBIERNO DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS. NO HABRIAMOS PODIDO SALIR ADELANTE SINO HUBIERAMOS CONTADO CON UNA ACTITUD COMPRENSIVA Y SOLIDARIA POR PARTE DEL GOBIERNO DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS. YO QUIERO ROGARLE AL EMBAJADOR WINSOR, A COMITEL CHAIJ, DIRECTOR DEL AID, QUE REITEREN LA GRATITUD / EL AGRADECIMIENTO AL PRESIDENTE REAGAN, A LA ADMINISTRACION EN GENERAL PORQUE APRECIAMOS EN TODO LO QUE VALE ESTA ACTITUD SOLIDARIA Y DE COOPERACION PARA CON NUESTRO PAIS. APROVECHO ESTA OPORTUNIDAD TAMBIEN, PARA COMENTAR PREGUNTAS QUE SE ME VOLVIERON A HACER ANTERIOR MOTIVO DE LA REUNION DE LOS MINISTROS DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES DE LA COMUNIDAD ECONOMICA EUROPEA CON LOS PAISES CENTROAMERICANOS; SE HA PROPAGADO EN EL MUNDO LA NOTICIA Falsa de que la ADMINISTRACION REAGAN ESTARIA PRESIONANDO AL PRESIDENTE MONGE PARA QUE MILITARICE EL PAIS, PARA QUE ORGANICE EJERCITO, PARA QUE SE IMPLIQUE EN ACCIONES DE TIPO BELICO EN CENTRO AMERICA. A PESAR DE QUE HEMOS HECHO UN GRAN ESPERZO PARA ACLARAR Y NEGAR ESEOS INFUNDIOS QUE SE PROPAGAN POR EL MUNDO, TUVE LA PENA DE COMPROBAR QUE TODAVIA HUBO PERIODISTAS QUE ME HICIERON LA MISMA PREGUNTA / DESDE LUEGO LES DIJE QUE ERA ABSOLUTAMENTE FALSO.

QUE EL GOBIERNO DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS NO HIZO EN EXTRATO RESPETUO CON NOSOTROS, NUNCA NOS HA SUGERIDO QUE ORGANICEMOS EJERCITO, QUE LOS JEMESES / HICHO MENOS QUE HOS IMPLICAMOS EN CONFLICTOS DE ORDEN BELICO EN CENTRO AMERICA. TAMBIE EN ESAS PREGUNTAS TIENEN LA TORCIDA INTENSIÓN DE DAR A ENTENDER QUE LA AYUDA ECONOMICA QUE HEMOS RECIBIDO TAN GENEROSAMENTE POR PARTE DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS ESTARIA CONDICIONADA A QUE COSTA RICA SE INVOLUCRE EN CONFLICTOS BELICOS EN CENTRO AMERICA; TAMBIE EN ESO LOS HECHO VERSADO CATEGORICAMENTE. NUNCA NOS HA SIDO CONDICIONADA NINGUNA DE LAS AYUDAS QUE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS HAN DAIDO EN ESTOS AÑOS; ESTO ES BUENO QUE TOME NOTA ESPECIALMENTE LOS REPRESENTANTES DE LOS MEDIOS QUE NOS ESTAN ACOMPAÑANDO EN ESTE ACTO TAN IMPORTANTE EN DIFERENCIA DE NOS ESTA HACIENDO UNA DONACION DE 60 MILLONES DE DOLARES QUE SERAN APLICADOS A PROYECTOS IMPORTANTES EN LOS ESFUEROS DE REACTIVACION, RECONSTRUCCION DEL APARATO PRODUCTIVO DEL PAIS. LAS GRACIAS DE NUEVO PARA EL EMBAJADOR WINSOR, PARA EL SEÑOR CHAIJ, PARA EL GOBIERNO DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS / NUESTRO RECONOCIMIENTO PROFUNDO POR ESTA ACTITUD DE COMPRESION, DE COLABORACION / DE APoyo PARA LA GEFICACIA COSTARRICENSE QUE HEMOS RECIBIDO DEL GOBIERNO DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS." ENO TEXT.

2. BEGIN TRANSLATION: "MANY TIMES IN MY TWO YEARS AND A FEW MONTHS OF GOVERNING I HAVE SPOKEN AT EVENTS SUCH AS TODAY'S TO THANK THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE FRANK AND DETERMINED COOPERATION IT HAS OFFERED US. WE COULD NOT HAVE KEPT GOING IF WE HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO COUNT ON AN UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORTIVE ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE U.S. I WANT TO ASK U.S. AMBASSADOR CURTINI WINSOR AND THE DIRECTOR OF AID, DANIEL CHAIJ, TO REPEAT OUR EXPRESSIONS OF GRATITUDE AND THANKS TO PRESIDENT REAGAN AND HIS ADMINISTRATION, BECAUSE WE APPRECIATE THE FULL VALUE OF THAT SUPPORTIVE AND COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE. I ALSO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO RESPOND TO QUESTIONS THAT HAVE AGAIN BEEN PUT TO ME WITH RESPECT TO THE MEETINGS OF FORUMS OF THE SEE WITH THE CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES. FALSE INFORMATION HAS BEEN PROPAGATED AROUND THE WORLD TO THE EFFECT THAT THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION IS PUTTING PRESSURE ON PRESIDENT MONGE TO MILITARIZE THE COUNTRY, TO ORGANIZE AN ARMY, TO BECOME INVOLVED IN WARLIKE ACTIONS IN CENTRAL AMERICA. IN SPITE OF OUR HAVING MADE A GREAT EFFORT TO CLARIFY AND DENY THESE UNFOUNDED CHARGES, WHICH HAVE BEEN PROPAGATED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, I HAVE BEEN CAUGHTENED TO DISCOVER THAT THESE ARE STILL JOURNALISTS ASKING THE SAME QUESTION. SO NATURALLY I HAVE TOLD THEM THAT THE CHARGES ARE ABSOLUTELY FALSE, THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS TREATED US WITH GREAT RESPECT,

AND NEVER SUGGESTED THAT WE ORGANIZE AN ARMY, OR Ourselves, AND MUCH LESS THAT WE INVOLVE OURSELVES IN AGGRESSIVE ACTIONS IN CENTRAL AMERICA. IN SERVICE, THESE DISTORTED QUESTIONS HAVE THE TWISTED AIM OF GIVING PEOPLE TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE ECONOMIC AID WE HAVE SO GENEROUSLY RECEIVED FROM THE U.S. IS CONDITIONED ON COSTA RICA'S BECOMING INVOLVED IN WARLIKE CONFLICT IN CENTRAL AMERICA; THIS ALSO WE HAVE DENIED CATEGORICALLY. THE AID THE U.S. HAS GIVEN US IN THESE PAST YEARS HAS NEVER BEEN CONDITIONED. IT WOULD BE GOOD IF THIS COULD BE NOTED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRESS AT AN ACT AS IMPORTANT AS TODAY'S, IN WHICH 60 MILLION DOLLARS ARE BEING GIVEN TO COSTA RICA, TO BE APPLIED TO IMPACTANT

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

INCOMING  
TELEGRAM

*Department of State*

PAGE 62 OF 82

PROJECTS IN THE EFFORT TO REACTIVATE AND RECONSTRUCT  
THE PRODUCTIVE APPARATUS OF OUR COUNTRY. ONCE AGAIN,  
OUR THANKS TO AMBASSADOR WILSON, MR. CRAIG, AND THE  
USE, AND OUR DEEP APPRECIATION FOR THIS ATTITUDE OF  
UNDERSTANDING, COLLABORATION, AND SUPPORT FOR COSTA  
RICAN DEMOCRACY THAT WE HAVE RECEIVED FROM THE  
GOVERNMENT OF THE U.S. END TRANSLATION.

STANLEY

UNCLASSIFIED

INCOMING  
TELEGRAM

## Department of State

PAGE 21 OF 42 CABLE 16 07656 00 OF 03 020003Z  
ACTION ARA-00

1506

INFO OCT-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	AIB-00	INR-10	EUR-00	SS-00
CLAE-00	ED-00	DOB-00	E-01	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	SSG-00
NA-00	L-03	LAB-04	TRSE-00	PA-10	PA-02	QME-01
INRE-00	USIE-00	SP-02	SP-01	PRS-01	SLPO-01	/053 4

-----101111 020011Z /00 52

0 012304Z OCT 80  
 FM AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7557  
 INFO CONTADORA COLLECTIVE PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY LISBON PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE PRIORITY  
 USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY

UNCLAS SAN JOSE 07656

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC; USNATO FOR MICHAEL SHOL;  
STATE FOR ARA/CEM; GUATEMALA FOR ROCAP

E.O. 12356: R/A  
 TAGS: PREL, EC, XA, CG  
 SUBJ: SAN JOSE CONFERENCE: SPEECHES FROM OPENING  
 CEREMONY

1. EMBASSY OBTAINED TEXTS TODAY FROM FOREIGN MINISTRY OF FIVE OF SIX UNDRA OF SPAIN'S STILL NOT AVAILABLE MAJOR SPEECHES (FOUR FOREIGN MINISTERS AND PRESIDENT LUIS ALBERTO MONGE) AT OPENING SECTION ON SEPTEMBER 28 OF THE CONFERENCE OF SAN JOSE. WE ARE FORWARDING COMPLETE TEXTS TO RAVEN. MONGE SETS THE STAGE INTERWEAVING WITH REGIONAL THEMES COSTA RICA'S PAROCHIAL INTEREST IN MAKING CLEAR TO EUROPEANS THE COUNTRY'S WORTH AS A DEMOCRATIC MODEL. ANDRADE OF GUATEMALA AND SEPULVEDA OF MEXICO GAVE VERY SIMILAR PRESENTATIONS, PRIMARY DIFFERENCE THE LATTER'S HEAVY STRESS ON THE REVISED ACTA AS THE KEY TO PEACE IN THE REGION. NOT SURPRISINGLY, BARRY, SPEAKING FOR THE EC, PRESAGES MUCH OF THE FINAL TEXT ADOPTED IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE.

2. FOLLOWING ARE MAJOR POINTS OF INTEREST:

PRESIDENT MONGE (COSTA RICA):

-- MONGE OPENED WITH A STRONG PLUG FOR COSTA RICA'S UNIQUE DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT AND EMPHASIZED TO THE EUROPEANS THAT THIS PROVES THAT "DEMOCRACY WORKS IN A POOR COUNTRY; THAT DEMOCRACY WORKS IN THE TROPICS."

-- THE PRESIDENT ALSO EMPHASIZES COSTA RICA'S UNARMED, NEUTRAL STATUS IN ARMED CONFLICTS AND "ADVOCATED THE DEPARTURE FROM CENTRAL AMERICA OF ALL FOREIGN MILITARY AND SECURITY FACTORS, REGARDLESS OF THEIR NATIONALITY AND REGARDLESS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL PRETEXT TO NEDdle INTO CENTRAL AMERICAN AFFAIRS."

-- ON CONTADORA MONGE NOTES THAT "THE CONTADORA GROUP CANNOT GO ANY FURTHER THAN THE CENTRAL AMERICAN STATES THEMSELVES ARE WILLING TO GO..."

-- ON THE PROSPECTIVE AGREEMENT IN CONTADORA, HE STATED

"...ON IT IS THE SOLE RESPONSIBILITY OF EACH STATE TO ADOPT THIS COMPROMISE AND ADOBE BY IT WITH SINCERITY AND HONESTY. IF ANY OF THE GOVERNMENTS DO NOT OBSERVE IT, THE MARTYRDOM OF THE SUFFERING PEOPLES OF CENTRAL AMERICA WILL FALL UPON IT..."

-- IN ATTEMPT TO DEFUSE PRESS SPECULATION THAT THE CONFERENCE SOMEHOW HAD AN ANTI-U.S. PURPOSE, THE PRESIDENT ENDED HIS REMARKS WITH THE FOLLOWING: "IN CONNECTION WITH THIS DESIRED GREATER SOLIDARIC PRESENCE OF THE DEMOCRACIES OF WESTERN EUROPE, IT IS FITTING TO OFFER CLARIFICATION. WE WANT THEM TO HELP US TO FIND PEACE, TO BUILD AND STRENGTHEN DEMOCRACY IN CENTRAL AMERICA. IT IS NOT THE INTENT OF COSTA RICA THAT SUCH GREATER PRESENCE REPLACE THE SOLIDARITY THAT IT IS ALREADY RECEIVING FROM OTHER DEMOCRATIC FRIENDLY NATIONS. AND MUCH LESS SO WOULD WE MAKE THE SERIOUS MISTAKE OF CAUSING ANY FRICTION BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN DEMOCRACIES AND OTHER COUNTRIES THAT HAVE ALREADY SHOWN THEIR SOLIDARITY IN OUR STRUGGLE TO PRESERVE THE PEACE AND THE FREEDOM WE COSTA RICANS ENJOY." (TRANSLATION IS BY DCRR)

FOREIGN MINISTER GAMA (PORTUGAL):

-- EXPRESSES SUPPORT FOR THE "NOTABLE EFFORTS" OF THE CONTADORA GROUP IN "THE SEARCH FOR A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION...TRYING TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF THE EAST/WEST CONFLICT TO CENTRAL AMERICA..."

-- NOTES THAT THE LISBON CONFERENCE ENTITLED "DEMOCRATIC CHALLENGE IN LATIN AMERICA" LAST JUNE WAS INDICATION OF PORTUGAL'S SUPPORT FOR INITIATIVES AIMED AT CREATING AN "ATMOSPHERE OF CONFIDENCE, DIALOGUE AND NON CONFRONTATION..."

-- EMPHASIZES NEED FOR "NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER" THAT WILL BRING TO AN END THE MONOPOLY OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POWER ACHIEVED AT THE EXPENSE OF COUNTRIES SUFFERING FROM DOMESTIC INEQUITY...

FOREIGN MINISTER ANDRADE (GUATEMALA):

-- STRESSES ABOVE ALL ELSE ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND INTERDEPENDENCE OF CENTRAL AMERICANS.

-- ON CONTADORA, REFERS TO THE REVISED ACTA AS "A VERY VALUABLE DOCUMENT" WHICH "HAS BEEN PRESENTED FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF OUR GOVERNMENTS."

-- POINTS OUT THAT CENTRAL AMERICANS HAVE ALREADY ESTABLISHED APPROPRIATE REGIONAL MECHANISMS TO BENEFIT FROM COOPERATION WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

-- RECOMMENDS SEVERAL SPECIFIC ECONOMIC INITIATIVES BY THE EC, INCLUDING INTER ALIA INCREASED CREDIT FOR EXPANDED TRADE WITH EUROPE, FINANCING FOR CENTRAL AMERICAN BANK OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION, AND GREATER ACCESS FOR CENTRAL AMERICAN PRODUCTS TO EUROPEAN MARKETS.

FOREIGN MINISTER PETER BARRY (IRELAND):

-- RECOGNIZES REGIONAL EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT NEGOTIATION AND RECONCILIATION, WHO SPECIFICALLY REFERS TO THE TERN'S "FULL SUPPORT FOR THE INITIATIVE OF THE CONTADORA COUNTRIES."

-- STATES SUCCESS OF THAT EFFORT DEMONSTRATED IN DOCUMENT OF OBJECTIVES, AND PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION MOVED FORWARD

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

"COMING  
TELEGRAM

## Department of State

PAGE 82 OF 82

ON THE BASIS OF A DRAFT...PRESENTED TO THE CENTRAL  
AMERICAN STATES.

-- CONTADORA PROCESS REPRESENTS THE BEST HOPE FOR A LASTING SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF CENTRAL AMERICA... AND "IT IS OUR EARNEST WISH THAT THOSE CONCERNED WILL HAVE THE COURAGE AND MUSTER THE SPIRIT OF JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION NECESSARY TO BRING THIS GREAT EFFORT TO FINAL FRUITION THROUGH THE SIGNATURE AND FAITHFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF A COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT BASED ON THE DOCUMENTS OF OBJECTIVES."

-- EC MEMBERS "ARE READY, WITHIN THEIR CAPABILITIES, TO SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION TO ACHIEVE AND CONSOLIDATE PEACE."

-- POLITICAL TENSIONS HEIGHTENED BY ECONOMIC SITUATIONS... CAUSE SOCIAL INSTABILITY... IN AREA OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, EC CAN PLAY "PARTICULARLY ACTIVE ROLE IN HELPING TO SUPPORT AND UNDERPIN BOTH THE PROCESS OF PACIFICATION AND PEACE ITSELF WHEN ACHIEVED."

-- "COMMUNITY FIRMLY SUPPORTS EFFORTS TOWARD INTEGRATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND TEAMS TO GIVE THEM EVERY POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE."

-- COMMUNITY IS AWARE OF DETERIORATION IN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA... AND IS READY TO CONTINUE AND DEVELOP FURTHER ALREADY EXISTING FORMS OF COOPERATION AND TO SHOW SUFFICIENT IMAGINATION TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS IN NEW FIELDS.

-- READY TO CONTRIBUTE TO YOUR EFFORTS TO INCREASE EXPORTS FROM CENTRAL AMERICA TO EUROPE.

-- CLOSER COOPERATION BETWEEN BUSINESS UNDERTAKINGS AND STRENGTHENING OF EUROPEAN INVESTMENT COULD PLAY A SIGNIFICANT PART IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REGION.

SECRETARY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS SEPULVEDA (MEXICO):

-- FROM THE BEGINNING, THE CONTADORA EFFORT HAS BEEN GUIDED BY A RECOGNITION THAT FINDING A SOLUTION TO THE ECONOMIC/SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE REGION IS THE KEY TO CREATING A FRAMEWORK OF REGIONAL SECURITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT AND CONFIDENCE.

-- NOW THERE IS A COHERENT AND COMPLETE COLLECTION OF SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS TO MEET THE SECURITY PROBLEMS, STRENGTHEN THE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND PROMOTE COOPERATION FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

-- THE ACTA IS A DRAFT (PROJECTED FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION ARRREGLO GLOBAL) WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE POLITICAL UNDERSTANDINGS AND JURIDICAL COMMITMENTS PREVIOUSLY NEGOTIATED BY THE CENTRAL AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS THEMSELVES.

-- WE CONGRATULATE OURSELVES FOR THE ACCEPTANCE WHICH THE ACTA HAS RECEIVED FROM HIGH AUTHORITIES IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

-- THE ACTA ALSO CONTAINS PROVISION FAVORING CENTRAL AMERICAN INTEGRATION.

-- IT PROSCRIBES COERCION IN ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES.

-- THE USE OF FORCE IS A FALSE AND COSTLY ALTERNATIVE TO DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATION.

-- IT IS IMPERATIVE TO PROSCRIBE FOREIGN MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE AREA, BANISH RECOURSE TO ARMED FORCE AND ELIMINATE LEGITIMATE FOREIGN INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CENTRAL AMERICAN STATES.

-- SEPULVEDA RECOMMENDS SIX SPECIFIC STEPS BY THE EC TO STRENGTHEN REGIONAL ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS AND TRADE. THEY VERY CLOSELY PARALLEL THOSE SUGGESTED BY FOREIGN MINISTER ANDRADE OF GUATEMALA.

JONES

UNCLASSIFIED

Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Friday, September 28, 1984 A11

# Diplomat says press is naive



ROBERT DeGIULIO/P-I PHOTO

Otto J. Reich yesterday criticized the Western press for accepting Cuban propaganda on events in Central America.

By Don Tewkesbury  
P-I Reporter

A State Department expert on Latin American affairs yesterday criticized "some elements of the American press" for naively accepting fraudulent Cuban propaganda reports about events in Central America.

"Cuba is behind a massive disinformation campaign aimed at the Western press — much of it floated through Mexico City," Otto J. Reich said at a meeting with members of the Post-Intelligencer editorial board.

Cuba has had more success influencing the American media than the State Department has because "many reporters seem more willing to believe those opposed to the U.S. than those supporting the U.S.," Reich said. He is a State Department special adviser for diplomacy in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Reich said he recently testified before a congressional committee to respond to a New York Times article "that contained 22 factual errors" about the alleged failure of land reform in El Salvador.

## Lack resources

"The El Salvador program is the most radical land reform ever undertaken in the Western Hemisphere and — despite serious obstacles posed by its opponents — it has been working and it is going ahead," Reich said.

He said the Sandinista Party,

which controls the government in Nicaragua, is "establishing the basis for a totalitarian dictatorship. They haven't done it yet, because they lack the resources," he said. "Their tactics are fascist whether they are Marxist-Leninist or whatever they are called."

"If nothing else, Nicaragua is exporting violence in the region, including providing arms to guerrillas in El Salvador."

Reich said Americans traditionally "have been slow to recognize aggression." He said World War II atrocities occurred "because people here are basically decent and didn't believe such things could happen. And we still don't want to believe it. We supported the revolution in Cuba and we didn't believe it could turn sour so quickly."

## 'Regional negotiations'

However, Reich believes United States military intervention in Nicaragua is unnecessary.

He expressed hope that this country will succeed in promoting "regional, rather than bilateral, negotiations" and that Congress will budget the funds necessary to promote United States interests in all Central American countries.

He is not optimistic about the Nov. 4 Nicaraguan election. If it operates "as it is set up now, it will be no different than an election held in East Germany or Cuba," Reich said.

# Reagan policies in El Salvador defended here

By Richard M. Peery

A State Department official delivered an emotion-charged defense of the Reagan administration's policies in Central America last night at the National Conference of Christians and Jews' award dinner in Stouffer's Inn on the Square.

Otto Juan Reich, coordinator of Public Diplomacy for Latin America and the Caribbean, told an audience of 900 that American efforts in El Salvador are leading to democracy in that country while conditions are worsening in Nicaragua.

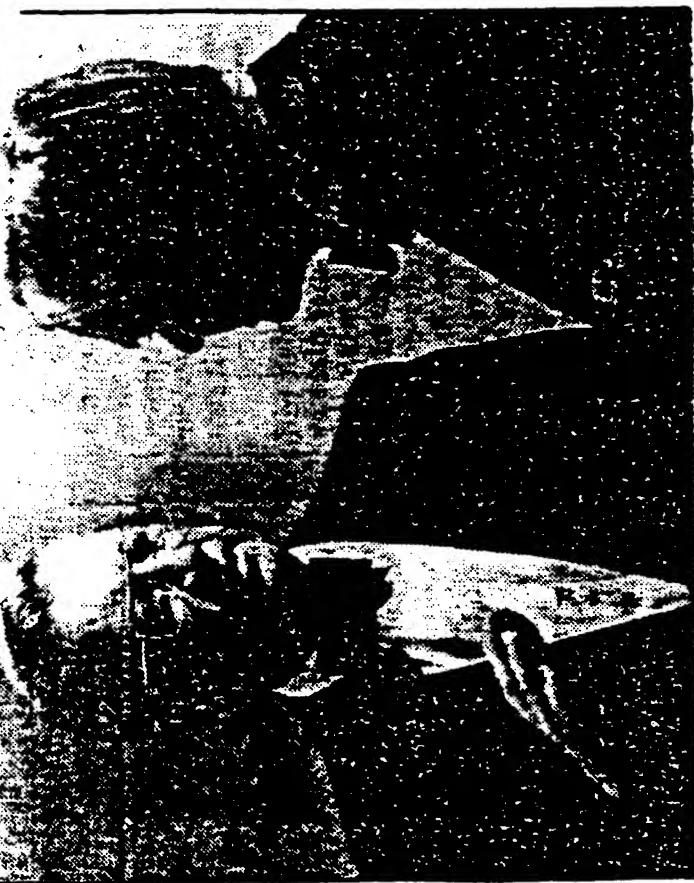
"The United States is a positive force of good in the world," Reich said.

Following the talk, Stanley C. Pace, president and chief operating officer of TRW Inc., was given the prestigious National Human Relations Award.

Reich praised the convictions of four Salvadoran enlisted men for the murders of American churchwomen, including Clevelanders Jean Donovan and Ursuline nun Dorothy Kazel, as an example of the improvement there. Reich said his father was a Jew who fled Austria when Adolf Hitler took over the country. His father's parents remained behind and perished at Auschwitz because they could not believe that the Nazis would carry out extermination policies.

Reich said that just as his grandparents were unable to recognize totalitarianism, people living in democracies find it hard to stand up to similar aggression. Reich was born in Havana. He said his father and mother, a Cuban Catholic, left Cuba after hearing Fidel Castro's plans for running the country.

Reich praised the American invasion of Grenada as history's only example of a Marxist-Leninist government being overthrown. "Order was restored and the nation was liberated," he said. Documents seized on Grenada revealed to the United States for the first time the inner workings of a Communist government, Reich said.



POWERS/CHICAGO TRIBUNE / ZUMA PRESS

Stanley Pace, left, and Thomas Vail, publisher and editor of *The Plain Dealer*, chat at Stouffer's Inn on the Square where Pace received the National Conference of Christians and Jews' National Human Relations Award.

Reich listed what he called the "Four D's" necessary for the security of Central American countries: democracy, development, diplomatic negotiations and defense.

Asked before his talk about the presence of U.S. citizens fighting with rebels in Nicaragua, and the rumored use of equipment and material supplied by the United States, Reich said nothing illegal was being done.

"I don't know whether any American material is being used," he said. "Congress has approved funds for what we are doing there. We don't comment on Intelligence activities, but appropriate committees of Congress are aware of this."